THE

CRISIS.

NUMBER, LXXXII, *To be continued every Saturday,*

DURING THE PRESENT BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

SATURDAY, August 10, 1776, Price Two-pence Half-penny.

Concluded from our laſt.

IT is an attempt full of danger, for a ſtate to depart from thoſe antient, fundamental maxims, by which ſhe has grown into wealth, and proſperity: maxims an attention to which, at this great criſis, muſt determine Great Britain's future fortune and importance. The conduct of Rome towards her Colonies, and the oppreſſions of her pro-conſuls, was one great cauſe of the downfall of that once glorious republic. This fact ought to furniſh us with matter of very uſeful reflection, and ſerious circumſpection: an erroneous policy, always preceeds a declining power: a haughty ſpirit before a fall, and pride before deſtruction. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*

Armies

Armies ſtationed over Provinces, as guards, to keep them in ſubjection, are learning from their ſuperiors a dreadful leſſon to princes: the prince who holds out meaſures of violence and injuſtice to his ſubjects, has reaſon to apprehend the ſame treatment in his turn: James found the obſervation verified, by woeful experience, when he pathetically exclaimed, Good God! my people and my children, have forſaken me! Extraordinary powers granted to Cæſar, furniſhed him with an opportunity, by largeſſes, to win the diſtant legions; whereby an aſtoniſhing ſenate beheld the ſervant of the ſtate, the tyrant of his country. By what means Cromwell wreſted the ſupreme power out of the hands of government, and finally laid the law, the peerage, the ſovereign, and conſtitution, in the duſt needs no comment. Hiſtory is full of examples where the army have profited by the court precept, and even exceeded their tutors; making advantageous terms for themſelves; they have joined the cauſe of the oppreſſed, or ſeized the prey for their general, at the expence of the prince, by whom they were employed. The ſame cauſes will produce the ſame effects; and America has many diſtinguiſhing peculiarities, in favour of ſuch a project, too delicate for public diſquiſition.

The thunder of the Britiſh navy can reach no further than the ſea coaſts of America: the truly brave are always juſt and generous; they are inſeparable companions from true manly courage. Will good ſenſe, honour, juſtice and the finer feelings of humanity, operate with leſs force, in the breaſt of a britiſh officer, than it does upon the reſt of mankind? The iniquity of the experiment muſt diſarm him, from the unnatural carnage of his fellow citizens! Shall the ſword which was never drawn, but in the common cauſe of liberty and our country, be ſtained with the blood of the companions of our dangers, and victories? ſhall he tarniſh the luſtre of well earned laurels, by enforcing acts, which take away the property of his fellow ſubjects, in direct oppoſition to the eſſential rights of human nature, and the vital principles of the conſtitution? " ſhall the honourable character of ſoldier, be thus degraded, into the diſgraceful name of an unfeeling ruffian? under ſuch banners, the braveſt troops, may convince thoſe at the helm, that fidelity and attachment cannot be expected, in ſupport of meaſures, ſo execrable in their nature, and horrid in their execution! the ſtill voice of conſcience, that faithful moniter within, will

will doubtleſs ſpeak more irreſiſtibly to them, than the voice of the prophet Shemaiah did the houſhold troops of Rehoboam, upon a ſimilar occaſion ---*Ye ſhall not go up nor fight againſt your brethren: return every man to his houſe for this thing is done of me.*

Having thus ſubmitted a few thoughts on this alarming criſis, in behalf of the Coloniſts, who are juſtly moved with a ſpirit of general diſcontent, permit me further, to intreat your ſeaſonable interpoſition, and ſpirited remonſtrances, by inſiſting that a conſtitution be immediately formed for the Colonies, conſiſtent with the genius and ſpirit of the Engliſh government, and friendly to the future peace, welfare, and proſperity of both countries. Every moment, your ſupine inactivity in this great national concern, becomes more and more dangerous. you have hitherto, with patience acquieſced under an unpardonable procraſtination, and criminal indifference to your own intereſts, and the ſufferings of your brethren: you cannot, any longer, plead ignorance: your juſtice and honour, have been ſolemnly appealed to, by three million of people, and you muſt be ſenſible, from the incontrovertable evidence of facts, that large ſtrides have been made, by your rulers, to deprive your fellow ſubjects of that ſecurity in their perſons and properties, inſeperable from freedom, and which is due from the legiſlature, without partiality to every individual of the empire. If you are not dead to all ſenſe of ſhame, and totally calous to thoſe fine feelings and honourable ſentiments, which have hitherto diſtinguiſhed you as a nation: ſuch unprecedented deviations from all the rules of juſtice, humanity, and the ſound policy of your anneſtors, accompanied with an open defiance and matchleſs violation of the principles of law and the conſtitution, will rouſe you into action, and demand your ſerious attention. Theſe outrageous meaſures, your muſt be convinced, are not the effect of accident, overſight, or in advertency, but one uniform, deep laid ſyſtem of enſlaving. In direct contradiction to the repeated preſſure of ſevere experience, they have been perſiſted in with an obſtinacy, which threatens nothing leſs than the total ruin of your commerce, revolt of the Colonies, and general bankruptcy of the mother kingdom. Their repeated humble remonſtrances and petitions to our aſtoniſhment, have not only been treated with contempt and indifference, but their misfortunes imbittered with ſcorn and inſult to the peculiar diſgrace of theſe times, and diſhonour of the britiſh nation. Remember

member you are contending, not only for yourſelves, but a people, with whom hitherto you have been connected by the ties of reciprocal intereſt and long intercourſe, improved by the maturing hand of time and mutual benefits, in real friendſhip.

Lord Camden's *ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords, in* 1765, *on the declaratory Bill of the ſovereinty of Great Britain over her Colonies*,

My Lords,

WHEN I ſpoke laſt on this ſubject, I thought I had delivered my ſentiments ſo fully, and ſupported them with ſuch reaſons, and ſuch authorities, that I apprehended I ſhould be under no neceſſity of troubling your lordſhips again. But I am now compelled to riſe up and to beg your further indulgence. I find that I have been very injuriouſly treated; have been conſidered as the broacher of new fangled doctrines, contrary to the laws of this kingdom, and ſubverſive of the rights of parliament. My lords, this is a heavy charge, but more ſo when made againſt one ſtationed as I am in both capacities, as peer and judge, the defender of the law and the conſtitution. When I ſpoke laſt, I was indeed replied to, but not anſwered. In the intermediate time, many things have been ſaid. As I was not preſent, I muſt now beg leave to anſwer ſuch now as have come to my knowledge. As the affair is of the utmoſt importance, and in its conſequences may involve the fate of kingdoms, I took the ſtricteſt view of my arguments; I re-examined all my authorities; fully determined if I found myſelf miſtaken, publickly to own my miſtake, and give up my opinion: but my reſearches have more and more convinced me, that the Britiſh parliament have no right to tax the Americans. I ſhall not therefore conſider the declaratory bill now laying on your table; for to what purpoſe, but loſs of time, to conſider the particulars of a bill, *the very exiſtence of which is illegal, abſolutely illegal, contrary to the fundamental laws of nature, contrary to the fundamental laws of this conſtitution?* a conſtitution grounded on the eternal and immutable laws of nature; a conſtitution whoſe foundation and center is liberty, which

ſends liberty to every ſubject that is or may happen to be or may happen to be within any part of its ample circumference. Nor my lords, is the doctrine new, 'tis as old as the conſtitution; it grew up with it, indeed it is its ſupport; taxation and repreſentation are inſeperably united; God hath joined them, no Britiſh parliament can ſeperate them: to endeavour to do it, is to ſtab our very vitals. Nor is this the firſt time the doctrine has been mentioned; ſeventy years ago, my lords, a pamphlet was publiſhed, recommending the levey ing a parliamentary tax on one of the colonies; this pamphlet was anſwered by two others, then much read; theſe totally deny the power of taxing the colonies: and why? becauſe the colonies had no repreſentatives in parliament to give their conſent; no anſwer public or private was given to theſe pamphlets, no cenſure paſſed upon them: men were not ſtartled at the doctrine, as either new or illegal, or derogatory to the rights of parliament.

I do not mention theſe pamphlets by way of authority, but to vindicate myſelf from the imputations of having firſt broached this doctrine.

My poſition is this---repeat it---I will maintain it to my laſt hour, taxation and repreſenration are inſeperable;---this poſition is founded on the laws of nature; it is more, it is itſelf an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is abſolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his conſent, either expreſſed by himſelf or repreſentative; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury, whoever does it, commits a robbery; he throws down and deſtroys the diſtinction between liberty and ſlavery.

Taxation and repreſentation are coeval with and eſſential to this conſtitution. I wiſh the maxim of Machiavel was followed, that of examining a conſtitution, at certain periods, according to its firſt principles; this would correct abuſes and ſupply defects.

I wiſh the times would bear it, and that mens minds were cool enough to enter upon ſuch a talk, and that the repreſentative authority

rity of this kingdom was more equally ſettled. I am ſure ſome hiſtories, of late publiſhed, have done great miſchief; to endeavour to fix the Æra when the houſe of commons began in this kingdom, is a moſt pernicious and deſtructive attempt; to fix it in an Edward's or Henry's reign, is owing to the idle dreams of ſome whimſical ill-judging antiquarians: but my lords, this is a point too important to be left to ſuch wrong headed people.

When did the houſe of commons firſt begin? when my lords? it began with the conſtitution: it grew up with the conſtitution; there is not a blade of graſs growing in the moſt obſcure corner of this kingdom, which is not, which was not ever repreſented ſince the conſtitution began; there is not a blade of graſs, which when taxed, was not taxed by the conſent of the propretor,

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